

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 10982

BERLIN FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: FRG VIEWS ON GENEVA COMMITTEE PHASE

REF: USNATO 3475, 3367, 3152

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SUMMARY; DURING AUGUST 1 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, FOREIGN OFFICE ACTING CSCE DEPARTMENT CHIEF HILLGER DESCRIBED CURRENT FRG THINKING ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF SECURITY PRINCIPLES AND CONCERNING TYPES AND TIMING OF DOCUMENTS WHICH WESTERN COUNTRIES MIGHT TABLE AT SECOND (COMMITTEE) PHASE OF CSCE. FRG SEEMS TO BE LEANING TOWARD TABLING DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AS WELL AS DETAILED EXPLANATORY PAPERS ON SOME SECURITY PRINCIPLES AT THE BEGINNING OF SECOND STAGE, AND THEN PROCEEDING IN COMMITTEE NEGOTIATIONS, AS IN MPT, VIA INDUCTIVE METHOD. FONOFF REP ALSO FAVORED INTRODUCTION IN SOME FORM AT THE START OF SECOND PHASE OF DETAILED WESTERN PAPERS ON HUMAN CONTACTS IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN BALANCED RHYTHM OF PROGRESS IN THE WORK OF THE THREE COMMITTEES. FONOFF REP'S COMMENTS ON INITIAL TASKS OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF NON-CSCE MEMBER STATES ALSO REPORTED BELOW. END SUMMARY.

1. TABLING OF WESTERN DOCUMENTS. HILLGER, WHO IS FONOFF EXPERT ON PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, SAID THE FONOFF HAS BEEN CONSIDERING THE THREE BASIC APPROACHES TO THE TABLING OF WESTERN DOCUMENTS IN THE CSCE COMMITTEE PHASE WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT THE LAST EC-NINE CSCE WORKING GROUP MEETING. HE IDENTIFIED THOSE APPROACHES AS: (A) TABLE WESTERN DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AT OUTSET OF COMMITTEE PHASE; OR (B) TABLE DETAILED "EXPLANATORY PAPERS" ON SOME SPECIFIC PRINCIPLES; OR (C) A COMBINATION OF A AND B. WHILE THE FRG HAS NOT YET MADE A DECISION, HILLGER INDICATED THAT THE FONOFF IS LEANING TOWARD HAVING WESTERN COUNTRIES TABLE BOTH A DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND SOME "EXPLANATORY PAPERS" AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GENEVA PHASE.

2. HILLGER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MANY ALLIES WERE OPPOSED TO TABLING A DRAFT DECLARATION AT THE OUTSET OF COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS (USNATO 3475). WHILE BONN COULD UNDERSTAND SOME OF THE REASONS FOR THIS RESTRAINT, THE FONOFF CONSIDERED THAT IT COULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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TACTICALLY USEFUL TO PLACE OVERALL WESTERN CONCEPT OF SECURITY PRINCIPLES EXPEDITIOUSLY ON THE TABLE IN ORDER TO BALANCE ALREADY TABLED SOVIET PAPER AND TO PROVIDE CONTEXT FOR DETAILED INDUCTIVE TYPE COMMITTEE DISCUSSION. HILLGER SAID FRG WAS CHARY ABOUT WEST BEGINNING SECURITY COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS SOLELY WITH DETAILED EXPLANATORY PAPERS ON PRINCIPLES. HE CONCEDED THAT SOME POINTS MIGHT GO EASIER THIS WAY

BUT FEARED THAT SOVIETS MIGHT THEN SEEK TO TREAT
SUCH DETAILED WESTERN PAPERS MERELY AS EDITORIAL
CONSIDERATIONS TO BE NOTED IN DISCUSSION OF RUSSIAN
DRAFT DECLARATION WHICH, IT MIGHT BE ARGUED, WOULD BE
THE GENUINE BASIS FOR SECURITY COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS.
FURTHER, LIMITING WESTERN TACTICAL APPROACH TO
DETAILED EXPLANATORY PAPERS MIGHT ALSO, HILLGER
FEARED, PUT INTO DANGER THE ORDER OF PRINCIPLES
TENTATIVELY AGREED TO BY ALL PARTICIPATING STATES IN
MPT MANDATES. FINALLY, HILLGER SAID ALLIED (AND
ESPECIALLY GERMAN) EMPHASIS ON LINKING PRINCIPLES OF
RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND INVOLABILITY OF FRONTIERS
WOULD NOT BE AIDED BY STRICTLY SEPARATE WESTERN
PRESENTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL SECURITY PRINCIPLES.

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3. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WHILE THE FRG HAD NOT YET FIXED ITS POSITION, HILLGER INDICATED THAT BONN WAS LEANING TOWARD TABLING BOTH A DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND SOME SUPPLEMENTARY EXPLANATORY
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PAPERS ON PARTICULAR PRINCIPLES AT THE OUTSET OF THE CSCE COMMITTEE STAGE. IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER, ON THE BASIS OF THESE WESTERN DOCUMENTS AS WELL AS THE SOVIET DRAFT DECLARATION, THE GERMANS STRONGLY FAVORED PROCEEDING, AS IN THE MPT, WITH A "BOTTOMS UP"---
INDUCTIVE TYPE NEGOTIATION OF SECURITY AS WELL AS OTHER CSCE ISSUES.

4. DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES--FRENCH PAPER. HILLGER SAID THE FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES (USNATO 3215), WHICH HE SAID HAS NOW BEEN INTRODUCED IN NATO, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED A FRENCH NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION RATHER THAN A PAPER OF THE EC-NINE. HILLGER SAID THE NINE'S CSCE WORKING GROUP HAD CONSIDERED THE PAPER, GENERALLY APPROVED OF ITS STRUCTURAL APPROACH BUT HAD NOT ENDORSED THE FRENCH DRAFT. SEVERAL MEMBER STATES, INCLUDING THE FRG, HAD ASSERTED SOME SPECIFIC RESERVATIONS ON FORMULATIONS IN THE FRENCH PAPER. HILLGER SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THE FRENCH PAPER AT COPENHAGEN WITH FRANCOIS PLAISANT, THE FORMER FRENCH DEPUTY REP IN BONN GROUP, WHO (ACCORDING TO HILLGER) IS TO REPRESENT FRANCE ON SECURITY COMMITTEE AT GENEVA. HILLGER SAID HE TOLD PLAISANT THAT BONN WAS PARTICULARLY PLEASED WITH FORMULATIONS IN FRENCH PAPER (PARA 2), HOLDING OPEN THE RIGHT OF PEACABLE CHANGE IN FRONTIERS. BUT HILLGER ALSO TOLD THE FRENCH REP THAT THE FRG HAD PROBLEMS WITH FRENCH FORMULATIONS ON SELF-DETERMINATION AND NON-INTERFERENCE.

5. PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. HILLGER RECALLED EFFORTS EARLIER THIS YEAR TO FIND COMPROMISE FORMULA-

TION THAT WOULD MEET VITAL WEST GERMAN INTERESTS ON QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION. HE SAID HE HAD TOLD THE FRENCH REP THAT THE FORMULATION IN THE FRENCH DRAFT DID NOT FULLY MEET THOSE FRG INTERESTS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN LEST REFERENCES TO THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLE TO PURSUE THEIR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT INTERFERENCE COULD BE READ TO LIMIT SOME FUTURE CHANCE FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE TO ACHIEVE REUNIFICATION. HILLGER SAID HE FULLY
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RECOGNIZED THAT CANADA ALSO HAD A DIFFICULT PROBLEM IN THIS AREA, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ATTACHED MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO DEVELOPING SATISFACTORY FORMULATION ON THIS ISSUE. HILLGER SAID FONOFF WOULD WELCOME CURRENT US THINKING ON PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AS WELL AS ON NON-INTERFERENCE ISSUE.

6. PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE. HILLGER SAID FRG OBVIOUSLY FAVORS STRONG LANGUAGE IN NON-INTERFERENCE PARAGRAPH DESIGNED TO COMBAT BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. HOWEVER, HE SAID IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO AVOID LANGUAGE AS DETAILED AS THAT FOUND IN THE FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION (PARA 4)--"ALL INTERVENTION OR THREAT OF INTERVENTION, DIRECT OR INDIRECT IN THE INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A PARTICIPATING STATE...." HILLGER SAID THIS IS BECAUSE THE SOVIETS COULD THEN DEMAND A SIMILAR FORMULATION AS PART OF THE CHAPEAU TO DOCUMENTS EMERGING FROM THE HUMAN CONTACTS BASKET. EMBOFF SAID HELSINKI STATEMENTS OF GROMYKO AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS MADE SUCH AN EASTERN EFFORT LIKELY BUT ADDED THAT THE WEST COULD RESPOND IN A MANNER SIMILAR TO THAT IN THE MPT, I.E., ESCHEWING SUCH REFERENCES IN BASKET-3 CHAPEAU AND RELATING HUMAN CONTACT DOCUMENTS SIMPLY TO OVERALL BASKET-1 DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. EMBOFF ADDED THAT SUFFICIENT ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE REMAINED ONE OF THE WEST'S MAJOR GOALS AT CSCE. HILLGER NOTED THIS ARGUMENTATION BUT SAID THAT HE THOUGHT A CLEAR AND SUFFICIENT FORMULATION ON NON-INTERVENTION MIGHT BE OBTAINABLE WITH SOMEWHAT LESS DETAILED LANGUAGE THAN APPEARS IN THE FRENCH DRAFT.

7. HUMAN CONTACTS--EASTERN POSITION. HILLGER SAID THE FRG SEES NOTHING NEW IN GROMYKO AND OTHER EE FOREIGN MINISTERS' STATEMENTS AT HELSINKI. HE SAID BONN DOES NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS WERE SEEKING TO TAKE SOMETHING BACK THAT THEY HAD ALREADY GIVEN DURING MPT

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IN HUMAN CONTACTS FIELD. PURPOSE OF EE'S STATEMENTS
WAS TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT SOVIETS WOULD DEMAND STIFF
PRICES IN OTHER CSCE AREAS FOR WESTERN GAINS ON HUMAN
CONTACTS AND THAT SOVIETS WOULD SEEK TO IMPOSE SHARP
LIMIT ON THE EXTENT OF THEIR CONCESSIONS IN THIS AREA.

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8. HUMAN CONTACTS--TABLING WESTERN DOCUMENTS. HILLGER SAID FRG CONSIDERED IT IMPORTANT THAT A COMPARABLE RHYTHM OF PROGRESS BE MAINTAINED BETWEEN CSCE HUMAN CONTACTS AND SECURITY COMMITTEES. TO THAT END, AND AFTER NATO HAD FULLY VETTED THE TWENTY-THREE EC-NINE PAPERS, FRG FAVORED TABLING PAPERS AT OUTSET OF GENEVA PROCEEDINGS AND THEN PROCEEDING VIA INDUCTIVE METHOD. HE SAID BONN HAD NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER THESE PAPERS SHOULD BE TABLED INDIVIDUALLY, AS PART OF A TOTAL DOCUMENT OR AS ANNEXES TO AN OVERALL DOCUMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE NOTED THAT SOME ENTAILED RATHER VAGUE RECOMMENDATIONS WHILE OTHERS WERE OF A DIFFERENT AND MORE CONCRETE CHARACTER.

9. THIRD COUNTRY CONTRIBUTIONS. HILLGER SAID BONN HOPED QUESTION OF THIRD COUNTRY PARTICIPATION COULD BE RESOLVED EXPEDITIOUSLY AT OUTSET OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE CONSULTATIONS. HE SAID THE FRG FAVORED THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ALGERIA/TUNISIA AND ISRAEL. WHILE OTHER EC COUNTRIES (READ FRANCE AND ITALY) PREFERRED TO GIVE PROCEDURAL ADVANTAGE TO MAGHREB STATES, HILLGER ADDED GERMAN CONCERN THAT, GIVEN SOVIET/EE ATTITUDES, IT MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN CONSENSUS FAVORABLE TO ISRAELI POSITION. IN ANY CASE, GERMANS WISH TO AVOID REPEAT OF TIME CONSUMING DISCUSSION AT HELSINKI.

10. COORDINATING COMMITTEE. HILLGER SAID THE FRG BELIEVED THE SWISS NOTE CIRCULATED TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES COVERED MOST OF THE ITEMS WHICH COORDINATING COMMITTEE WOULD HAVE TO ADDRESS BETWEEN AUGUST 29 AND SEPTEMBER 18. HE SAID GERMANS SHARED SWISS VIEW THAT A SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR EACH MAJOR SUB-POINT IN THE MPT MANDATES.

11. CSCE FOLLOW UP. HILLGER AGREED THAT ALLIANCE MUST ADDRESS FOLLOW-UP QUESTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE BUT SAID THAT, GIVEN PRESS OF OTHER CSCE ISSUES, DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-UP ISSUE MIGHT BETTER AWAIT OPENING OF DISCUSSIONS IN GENEVA.

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